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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 6, 1985

Executive Registry

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961SECRETMEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ  
The Secretary of StateTHE HONORABLE CASPAR W. WEINBERGER  
The Secretary of DefenseTHE HONORABLE WILLIAM J. CASEY  
The Director of Central IntelligenceGENERAL JOHN W. VESSEY, JR.  
The Chairman, Joint Chiefs of StaffSUBJECT: Nicaraguan Resistance Proposal on National  
Dialogue (U)

The Nicaraguan resistance/opposition consensus that was achieved this weekend in San Jose, Costa Rica, is a significant event. For a variety of reasons, their resolution (Tab A) has not received the media attention which it deserves. It would seem that we need to convey our support for this document and its importance to the democratization issue. This internal accord among the various resistance and political opposition groups should also be highlighted in our dialogue with the Congress on aid to the freedom fighters. In short, the resistance proposal can be an effective counterfoil to the "peace campaign" being waged by Ortega and company. (C)

In that we are aware of the Sandinista plans to thwart our Congressional campaign in support of the freedom fighters, it would seem that we also need to be more forthcoming about the positive nature of the resistance forces themselves. From all accounts, the testimony of those freedom fighters visiting Washington (Tab B) has been effective. This, too, is a story we should tell--particularly, in view of the disinformation and propaganda being disseminated by the Sandinistas and their supporters. (S)

It would appear that these two issues lend themselves to aggressive public diplomacy. To that end, your assistance would be appreciated in drafting appropriate guidance for use by USG officials, both in public and in discussions with members of

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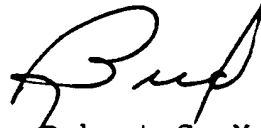
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Congress. To the extent that we can, we should seek to make known what the Sandinistas are doing to disrupt our plans for restoring aid to the Nicaraguan freedom fighters. The State Department's Office of Public Diplomacy for Latin America and the Caribbean should take the lead in this effort. (S)



Robert C. McFarlane

Attachments

- Tab A - Unofficial Translation of "Document on National Dialogue of the Nicaraguan Resistance"
- Tab B - FDN Press Advisory

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UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF THE "DOCUMENT ON NATIONAL DIALOGUE OF THE NICARAGUAN RESISTANCE" AS SIGNED BY THE VARIOUS RESISTANCE LEADERS AND READ TO MEMBERS OF THE NICARAGUAN EXILE COMMUNITY IN SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA, 11:30 A.M., COSTA RICA TIME, MARCH 8 1985.

We, democratic citizens, representatives of all sectors of the Nicaraguan Resistance, announce to the Nicaraguan people, to the governments and peoples of the Americas and of the world, the following manifesto:

#### THE PRESENT SITUATION OF NICARAGUA

In recent years, the Sandinista Front has submerged our people in a crisis without precedent in our national history.

At this time, the impact of this crisis is evident in the economic, political, social and moral spheres of the nation.

This situation is rooted both in the abandonment of the Original Program of Government and the Fundamental Statute as well as in the interference of the Soviet Bloc in our internal affairs.

Both factors, the sole responsibility of the Sandinista Front, have brought about a sharp conflict whose protagonists are the governing party on the one hand and the Nicaraguan people on the other.

The Nicaraguan people reject, of course, the imposition of a regime which in essence contradicts the values and aspirations which gave birth to the revolutionary process. They are founded on the recovery of freedom, democracy and social justice so often postponed because of the Somoza regime.

In conclusion, the national crisis we face did not grow out of a confrontation between imperialism and the revolution, as the Sandinista Front pretends, but out of the contradictions which emerge from the clash between democratic expectations of the Nicaraguan people and the imposition of a totalitarian system such as that which is being implanted in our country by the Sandinista Front.

This conflict, which has produced a civil war, today threatens to destroy the Nicaraguan nation. And as stated in the recent document of the Nicaraguan Democratic Coordinator, it cannot be resolved through negotiations between the governments of other nations and the Sandinista Front nor through sectarian dialogues.

From that perspective, it is clear that the elections of November 4, 1984, by virtue of having been a farse, contributed nothing toward the resolution of the national crisis. This view has been supported by the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights in its report for the period 1983-84, as well as by the political groups which decided to participate in the "elections", as they stated in the document entitled "Proposals of Minimum Concurrence for the Renewal of the National Dialogue," issued in January of this year.

The solution to the national crisis can only be found through a genuine understanding among all Nicaraguans that might end the civil war and lead to the reconciliation of the Nicaraguan family.

We wish to emphasize that this initiative is not taken merely to search for a quota of power, but rather it seeks only to establish in Nicaragua the rule of law which will permit the people to live in peace and to go about resolving our problems within a new constitutional order.

#### COMMON ASPIRATIONS

We aspire to the democratization of Nicaragua, conscious that democracy is the only means to carry out an authentic revolution and rescue our national identity and sovereignty.

We aspire to reconstructing Nicaragua, to promoting its development in accordance with a model which gives priority to the dispossessed sectors.

We aspire to the establishment of a political system which guarantees a real separation of powers, authentic pluralism and a just, efficient mixed economy.

In order to carry out the foregoing, the following is required:

- a) To recognize the primacy of civilian society with respect to the State and to assure through it the dissolution of the totalitarian state-party-army trilogy.
- b) Full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms of expression, assembly, religion and education.
- c) De-militarization of society and the absolute subjection of police functions to civilian authority.
- d) A foreign policy which has as objectives the preservation of national sovereignty, peace and harmony with neighboring countries in particular, and effective reactivation of the historical aspirations of Central American Unity.

- e) An economic system which provides for the development of the private sector which includes cooperative enterprises, as well as the clear definition of the participation of the State as a subsidiary economic agent and promoter of social development.
- f) Institutionalization of a multi-party electoral system which guarantees free elections, alternation in power and respect for the minority.
- g) Freedom to organize unions.
- h) A modern, productive process of integral agrarian reform.
- i) Administrative decentralization and effective autonomy for municipal government.
- j) Full recovery of the Atlantic Coast, integrating it completely in the national life, guaranteeing respect for the culture and traditions of the various ethnic groups of the region and of the rest of the country within a framework of effective municipal autonomy, exercised in the context of the insolubility of the Nicaraguan nationality.
- k) General amnesty and pardon for political crimes and related crimes.
- l) Expulsion from the country of all foreign internationalists, military advisors and troops, including those who may be found using the identity of deceased Nicaraguan citizens and those who have been improperly naturalized.

#### THE LAST AND DEFINITIVE SUMMONS

After having carried out multiple peace initiatives in the last three years directed toward establishing a constructive dialogue with the Sandinista Front that would end the civil war and lead to the reconciliation of the Nicaraguan family, we recognize that those efforts have been fruitless because of the intransigence of the Sandinista regime and because of the designs of the Soviet bloc.

The Sandinista Front, by ignoring and failing to comply with the agreements made in the past, has lost the necessary credibility to reach a good faith understanding. Such is the case of the agreements reached with the XVII Consultative Meeting of the OAS Council of Ministers, the Original Program of Government, the Fundamental Statute, the Eighteen Points of Concurrence of the Forum for Discussion of National Problems, and the promises to carry out a free and honest election, among others.

Therefore, in view of the gravity of the moment, and conscious of our civic responsibilities and of the urgent need to save our people from greater suffering, we accept the call to convene issued by the Nicaraguan Democratic Coordinator and we call upon the Sandinista Front, for the last time, and in definitive and absolute fashion, to participate in a national dialogue which will end the national crisis. This dialogue should follow these modalities:

#### Convocation

The Nicaraguan Bishops Conference is the entity with the necessary moral authority to organize and coordinate the National Dialogue. In this regard, we reiterate the petition made to it by the Democratic Coordinator to convene the National Dialogue.

#### Participants

In order that the dialogue be efficient and produce the desired results, it is necessary to structure it in accordance with Nicaraguan reality. There are two political tendencies in Nicaragua: the totalitarian one which for the moment has accepted the Sandinista Front as its vanguard, and the democratic one which is divided into armed organizations and civilian organizations; therefore, the Dialogue should be between these two political tendencies so that both can name their respective delegates, as many as the Bishops Conference feels is appropriate.

#### Observers and Guarantors

We suggest to the Bishops Conference that it request the participation of the Central American Governments in the Dialogue as guarantors of the agreements which may be reached, given the fact that the sister peoples of Central America are, in the final analysis, are those which have been most directly affected by the Nicaraguan crisis.

The presence of these governments as guarantors in no way hinders the presence as observers or even as guarantors of other governments and democratic entities of the American continent.

#### Minimum Requirements

We support fully the minimum requirements demanded by the Democratic Coordinator in order to initiate the National Dialogue. They are: Suspension of armed activities, with a cease-fire in situ; lifting of the state of emergency; absolute freedom of expression and assembly; general amnesty and pardon for political crimes and related crimes; entry into effect of the right of asylum and habeas corpus, adding the granting of full protection of the physical and moral integrity of those members of the Resistance who participate in the Dialogue, in the event that it should take place in Nicaragua.

The application of these measures should be carried out under the supervision of the guarantor governments.

#### Temporary Permanence of the Executive

If this dialogue is carried out, we commit ourselves to accept that Mr. Daniel Ortega continue acting as head of the Executive Branch until such time as the people pronounce themselves in a plebiscite. During this period, Mr. Ortega should govern in fulfillment of the promises of the Nicaraguan Revolutionary Government Junta contained in the document of July 12, 1979 and directed to the Secretary General of the Organization of American States, an in fulfillment of the Original Program of Government, the Fundamental Statute and the American Human Rights Convention and the Pact of San Jose.

#### Initial Points of the Agenda

Although it will be up to the Bishops Conference to establish a definitive agenda, by agreement of the parties, we urge it to include as of now the following points:

- 1) That the legal procedure and actions of the government conform immediately to the American Convention of Human Rights, or the Pact of San José, which was ratified by the Nicaraguan Government of National Reconstruction on September 25, 1979, declaring it the law of the land and committing the national honor to its enforcement.
- 2) The dismantlement and immediate dissolution of all the party repressive organisms such as the CDS (Sandinista Defense Committees) and the other para-military organs.
- 3) eduction of military strength, the apolitical nature of the army, an end to the arms race, and the withdrawal of all foreign military troops and advisors and internationalists.
- 4) Immediate dissolution of the National Constituent Assembly.
- 5) A new provisional electoral law.
- 6) A new provisional law for political parties.
- 7) Re-structuring of the electoral system in accordance with the above provisional laws.
- 8) Calling of elections for a National Constituent Assembly.
- 9) Calling of municipal elections.
- 10) Calling of a plebiscite on the conduct of new presidential elections.

### Initiation of the National Dialogue, Instrumentation and Deadlines

In order to carry out the National Dialogue proposed by the Democratic Coordinator, on the basis of the statements contained in this document, and conscious of the leninist tactic of stalling in order to consolidate the totalitarian program of the Frente Sandinista, said Dialogue must begin by March 20, 1985. This date cannot be postponed. If by April 20, 1985 the National Dialogue has not begun or has not progressed in clear and substantial form, it will be definitely suspended by the Nicaraguan Resistance, thereby terminating the possibilities for a peaceful resolution of the national crisis.

If the Nicaraguan Bishops Conference considers it useful to hold conversations with this group for purposes of preparations leading to the speedy realization of the Dialogue, we announce our immediate availability to participate in such conversations. To that end we appoint as our representatives Mssrs. Arturo J. Cruz, Alfonso Robelo and Adolfo Calero.

May love for our fatherland overcome selfishness and foreign involvement, so that the National Directorate of the Sandinista Front will respond positively to this our last effort to grant to our country a civilized solution.

God Save Nicaragua!

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**FUERZA DEMOCRATICA NICARAGÜENSE**

**P R E S S   A D V I S O R Y**

ENRIQUE BERMUDEZ, DIRECTOR, CHIEF OF MILITARY OPERATIONS,  
OF THE NICARAGUAN DEMOCRATIC FORCES, WILL HOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE ON  
TUESDAY, MARCH 5, AT 10:00 A.M., IN THE NEWS ROOM, NATIONAL PRESS  
BUILDING.

MR. BERMUDEZ WILL BE JOINED AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE BY FDN  
REGIONAL COMMANDERS "TIGRILLO", "AURELIANO" AND "RIGOBERTO".

BERMUDEZ, THE MEMBER OF THE FDN DIRECTORATE RESPONSIBLE FOR  
MILITARY OPERATIONS, AND THE OTHER COMMANDERS WILL BE PREPARED TO ADDRESS  
THE CURRENT SITUATION IN NICARAGUA.

CONTACT:    BOSCO MATAMOROS  
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              202/965-2448